

THE NEW REPUBLIC

WASHTON, D. C.

How Wisconsin Voted

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick

Reporting the Labor Story

William Abbott

The Leadership of LBJ

The Editors

Joseph Conrad

Michael Straight

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T.R.B.

from
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Religious Affiliation Issue

★ Seeking the Vice Presidential nomination back in 1956 Kennedy strategists circulated a memo arguing that there is a Roman Catholic vote and that it would aid Kennedy. Catholics, the thesis ran, are numerous in big cities in a dozen Northern industrial states; the Catholic vote normally determines the size of the Democratic margins in these cities which in turn swing the states. The 12 states have 253 electoral votes out of 269 needed to win. It was an impressive argument.

Wisconsin showed that there is a Catholic bloc vote all right but also indicated that there is likely to be a Protestant counter-bloc, too. The May 10 primary in West Virginia, a state almost 95 percent Protestant, will carry the study further. Of course primaries don't rouse emotions like the election itself: if Democrats nominate Kennedy the religious issue almost certainly will be bitter; if they don't nominate him on religious grounds, on the other hand, Kennedy is making the party face up to the consequences of Catholic resentment.

Maybe the time has come when the right of Catholics to aspire to the Presidency must be reaffirmed; if so, so be it, though it will seem to many a tragic irrelevance. We had hoped that the election would turn on a different issue: the need for the government to intervene more actively to expand the public sector of the economy in the interests of defense and national growth.

What Happened in Australia

★ Six years ago a religious issue split the Labor Party in Australia and it hasn't recovered yet. The so-called Cath-

olic Social Movement, led by a layman, Santamaria, in 1954 set out to take over the party or ruin it. He was backed by the Apostolic Delegate at Victoria (since removed) and Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne, while moderate Cardinal Gilroy of Sidney favored a Catholic organization within, but not dominating, the Labor Party. Although this was primarily a battle between rival Catholic groups it was also a horrible example of what the religious issue can do in politics in an Anglo-Saxon country.

Not Quite His Master's Voice

★ Nixon edged quietly over into the field by telling a meeting of the Associated Church Press here (a Protestant group) that he favors giving US scientific knowledge on birth control to overcrowded nations that ask for it. Nixon began with a bright comment that he thought Eisenhower had taken the right position, December 2, at his controversial press conference ("I cannot imagine anything more emphatically a subject that is *not* a proper political or governmental activity or function or responsibility") – then smoothly took just the opposite side.

Nixon's job these days is to show that he is not panicked by recent unfavorable public opinion polls (and ambiguous motions by Nelson Rockefeller) – in sign of which he is denying that he will step up his campaign. But he does intend to step it up for all that. However, the big Nixon drive is coming in September and October. That will be something to see! It will be the most massive political merchandising job ever put on. It will be for Nixon what "Winston tastes good like a cigarette should" is to cigarettes; radio, TV, billboards, newspapers, the slicks – they will whoop it up to the saturation point.

Lattimore and Sinatra

★ What's the state of America's soul? Well, a federal district court has just ruled that Professor Owen Lattimore's Institute of Pacific Relations is entitled to a tax refund. Joe McCarthy, you remember, called Lattimore "top spy" in America. A subcommittee under Senator Tydings (D, Md.) held hearings and called McCarthy a liar then. McCarthy helped defeat Tydings.

McCarran's Senate Internal Security Committee haled Lattimore in for an elaborate political trial, grilling the scholar for 10 days. The Eisenhower Justice Department twice brought charges of perjury against him (thrown out each time by courts). The McCarran committee seized the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations (which weren't secret). Then the Eisenhower Internal Revenue Service revoked the Institute's tax exemption as that of an educational organization.

And now a court speaks again: the Institute isn't Communist, isn't spying, hasn't engaged in propaganda, hasn't tried to subvert the government and is entitled to tax exemption as an educational organization. "Hand back its taxes," says the court.

Sounds fine, doesn't it? So now look at California. In 1947 the House Un-American Activities Committee jailed Albert Maltz, a screenwriter, in a won't-tell-on-my-friends case. Now living in Mexico, brilliant Maltz has been black-listed since then though writing under pseudonyms. Frank Sinatra announced recently that he was going to hire Maltz to write a script; but now he has abjectly recanted. Hearst and the Legion were too strong. Courts can't help Maltz. Sinatra weakly quotes "the American public" as feeling Maltz shouldn't be hired – "and I will accept this majority opinion." Did you know you had voted?

They Still Love Ike

★ Over the week-end Eisenhower flew briefly to Gettysburg, stayed an hour and returned; now he is off for a week or so to the segregated golf course in Georgia but may fly back to open the baseball season in Washington. If ever we saw a general on terminal leave it is Eisenhower! In seven years he has averaged 73 days on work-play vacations (exclusive of illness, foreign travel and holiday week-ends at Gettysburg). This compares with the Roosevelt-Truman average of about 40 days. And the public – ? They love it! The Gallup poll shows Ike's popularity "down," but it is down to the still incredibly high figure of 62 percent, with only 15 percent or so actively dissatisfied. The American public is still happy with what Max Ascoli calls its "holiday from history."

The Leadership of LBJ

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The long struggle in the Senate is over and that extraordinarily skillful captain of the Senate majority, Lyndon Baines Johnson of Texas, is being given credit for accomplishing for the second time what no other leader since Reconstruction Days has been able to accomplish once – the successful guidance of a civil rights act through the Senate. On the face of it, Johnson's remarkable performance would seem to have increased his stature as a Presidential candidate. Curiously, it has worked the other way. Rather than dramatizing his position as a leader of his party, it has dramatized his isolation from the main-streams of Democratic thought.

Where did Johnson stand in the fight over civil rights? Certainly, he worked hard to over-ride Southerners who wanted no bill at all. But he also worked – and just as strenuously – to over-ride others who wanted a stronger bill. In the end, he beat them all, and the one man who stood shoulder to shoulder with him throughout was Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Republican leader from Illinois, who has no votes in the Democratic National Convention.

As he methodically mowed down strengthening amendments, Johnson led a Republican-Southern Democratic coalition augmented with a few Democratic votes from the sparsely-settled Mountain States. But that coalition does not nominate Democratic Presidential candidates, and during the two-month-long struggle, Johnson was not only constantly opposing Senators representing the states which *do* nominate the candidates, but he was not even in communication with them. Had he supported them on only part of what they wanted, a stronger bill could have passed the Senate and been accepted by the House.

If the isolation of Lyndon Johnson from the liberal Northern-Western bloc had occurred on only the civil rights issue, it would perhaps be forgiven and forgotten. After all, the Democratic Party has to compromise with its several selves. But the lineup on the crucial civil rights vote was essentially the same as on a long series of little-noticed Senate votes over the past two years. Together they form a pattern: Northern Democrats, and their allies from the Pacific Coast States have sponsored measures important to the populous industrial states, which have then been beaten in conservative-dominated committees. The liberals have thereupon taken their battle to the Senate floor, and making up in spirit for what they have lacked in organization and leadership, they have rallied a majority of Democratic Senators. In some cases, Lyndon Johnson has been able to defeat the majority of

his own party by throwing Republicans into the breach. In others, leadership of the Democrats and of the Senate has been taken from him and he has been overwhelmed.

Perhaps the most striking instance occurred a year ago on a vote which has almost been forgotten. The temporary unemployment compensation bill enacted during the 1958 recession was about to expire. The recession itself, however, had not expired, and Michigan and other hard-hit Northern states desperately needed extension of the program. Sen. Harry Byrd's finance committee had said no; Sen. Pat McNamara of Michigan appealed to Johnson to help reverse the committee; Johnson gave him a curt rebuff and took off for Texas. With Johnson away, the Democratic Senators followed McNamara's leadership, 37 to 20. Republican votes defeated this amendment, but a subsequent compromise advanced by freshman Eugene McCarthy (D, Minn.) was supported by the Democrats, 43 to 13, and picked up enough Republican votes to pass. It was lost in conference, to be sure, but the Senate Democratic liberals had won their first floor victory of the 86th Congress.

It was this episode which caused the usually amiable McNamara to blast Johnson publicly for a "breakdown" of his leadership.

Earlier, a majority of Democrats had broken away from Johnson to support an amendment to expand the urban renewal program – an effort closely watched by the Democratic mayors of big cities. And during the ensuing months, the body of Senate Democrats had gone in one direction and Lyndon Johnson in the other on other major questions – closing of "tax loopholes," stepped-up tax law enforcement, modification of the "loyalty oath" requirement of the federal student loan program, extension of the "clean elections" bill to primaries, and now civil rights.

In all these disputes, on one side were Lyndon Johnson and most of the Southern Democrats; on the other, his Presidential rivals Humphrey, Kennedy and Symington, along with a majority of all Senate Democrats and an almost unanimous bloc of freshmen Democrats elected in '58. Behind them, of course, were those other spokesmen for the Democratic Party – Paul Butler and his Democratic Advisory Council. And although some newspapers insist on referring to the Advisory Council as representing the "extreme liberal wing" of the party, it clearly comes much closer than LBJ to reflecting the attitudes of past Democratic Administrations, the Democratic platform, and potential convention votes in 1960.

One must ask: How did a leader with Lyndon Johnson's reputation for adroitness manage to paint himself into this kind of corner? His failure appears to have been a failure of arithmetic. Giving equal weight to each Senator is fine when one is fashioning a majority to pass a bill. One need only add: two from Nevada are worth one from Pennsylvania plus one from Illinois. But in the

Democratic convention what you add are delegates. And Paul Douglas of Illinois and Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania represent exactly 10 times as many delegates as Nevada's Alan Bible and Howard Cannon. And New York, which having no Democratic Senators does not figure at all in Johnson's equations on the Senate floor, has more convention votes than the total from states which are represented by 14 Democratic Senators.

A second aspect of Johnson's preoccupation with arithmetic is harder to explain. It is his failure even to add correctly.

The image of LBJ as party leader, cultivated so assiduously by him and his admirers, is that of the "centrist" who brings the unruly and argumentative boys together and gets things done. But this image begins to blur when a Democratic majority in the Senate repeatedly goes off in one direction and he in another. Yet that is what has happened.

When the 1958 election augmented the Democratic majority with 15 new Northern and Western votes, there were those who expected Johnson to find the new center of his Democratic spectrum, calculate the new majority, and put himself at the head of it. Indeed, one liberal, Clark of Pennsylvania, invited Johnson to do just that in a private letter sent to the LBJ ranch shortly after the election. While the letter has never been made public, Clark has admitted that he urged Johnson to take the initiative in expanding the important Democratic Policy and Steering Committees to give the Northern and Western Democrats the increased representation on those important bodies that the changed Senate makeup seemed to justify.

Instead of seizing on this proposal as a means of solidifying himself with his non-Southern colleagues, Johnson gave it the brushoff. Later, he greeted with equal coldness Senator Proxmire's demand for party caucuses – although admittedly Proxmire's method of pressing his demand invited such response. But the fact that the Policy Committee *has* now been expanded and party conferences *are* now being held is not winning Johnson the kudos that would have been his if he had taken these conciliatory steps at the right time on his own initiative instead of much later and under duress.

Why has Johnson chosen a course that has led to his near-isolation? That he comes from Texas which is run by conservatives is not the whole answer. Except for civil rights, most of the issues on which he has separated from his Northern brethren have not been regional in nature – as a comparison of his domestic record with that of his Texas colleague Ralph Yarborough or that of Tennessee's Albert Gore makes clear.

Then what is the reason? Is this one-time protégé of FDR really more conservative at heart than his rivals for the nomination? Or is he so concerned with preserving his reputation as a successful legislative captain

that he would rather win a few battles as head of a Republican-Southern Democratic coalition than lose the war as head of the liberal majority of his own party?

Perhaps these are elements. But the better explanation seems to be that he misunderstood, in a fundamental way, the meaning of the election of 1958. He has repeatedly said that the Democratic landslide that year was a resounding endorsement of the "moderation" symbolized by himself and his fellow Texan, Speaker Rayburn (and Mr. Nixon!). This "moderate" leadership has won rave notices in the Republican press, and politicians are notably prone to believe nice things written about them without questioning too closely the publisher's credentials; a man can become the victim of his own press-agentry.

The next question looms large. What relations will a Democratic President, if one is elected, have with the Senate next year? Can a Kennedy, a Symington, a Humphrey, a Stevenson or a Bowles entrust his program to a Majority Leader who has aligned himself with their opponents? Or will a Democratic President establish direct and intimate relationships with more kindred spirits? A reporter, killing time in the outer office of a Presidential candidate, asked this question of the candidate's adviser. The answer was: "Don't think we haven't thought about that!"

Violence in South Africa

Outsiders with only a casual appreciation of the South African Nationalist mentality rejoiced when the law requiring Africans to carry identity passes was "temporarily suspended," and they took it for granted that after the widespread pass-burnings the system could never be reimposed and that "temporary" would become "permanent." But within a week, the Nationalists put the hated system back into operation and an attempt on Prime Minister Verwoerd's life nearly succeeded.

How can Westerners understand a man like Verwoerd, whose attitude toward Negroes is such that he would never allow any of his seven children to be bathed by an African? Or what use is reason or experience in helping one understand such statements as that of Dr. Abraham Johannes Van Der Mewe, moderator of Cape Province and minister of the oldest church in South Africa: "We as a Dutch Reformed Church have so far supported the principle of *apartheid* on one condition: it should be applied in such a way that it is fair to every section and involves no infringement of human dignity." Nor is the analytic tool of economic determinism applicable. If economic advantage were the sole basis of *apartheid*, and if it were the Afrikaner and not the English-speaking South African who controls big business and industry, then economic incentives might lead

the Nationalists to make concessions to the non-whites in the hope of saving the country. But the fantastic fear of miscegenation has convinced Nationalist leaders that thus to save their country would only be to lose it.

A weird mixture of Calvinist theology, geographic isolation, and a degree of British oppression magnified beyond belief, confused by a seemingly limitless string of inaccurate historical dogmas – none wilder than the idea that the white Afrikaner reached South Africa before many Africans had arrived – has made the Afrikaner the oddity of the 20th Century and South Africa's proudest tribe. He is not out of step, but marching in the opposite direction. Verwoerd and his followers will try to hold on, using the argument that the African has proved by his violence that he must be held in check. Every dictatorial weapon in the legal arsenal will be used. (They won't use teargas very often, and they have yet to use fire hoses, but there are equally brutal ways to break up a crowd.) There will be imprisonment without charges when even their fantastic laws provide no excuse for a trial. They will banish individuals, try to suppress publications and prevent suspicious assembly.

And when they do, they will have the support of most Afrikaners, for these are people who show great courage when standing together. The rare white dissenter is told that he is no *ware Afrikaner*. And all good *ware Afrikaners* will have their doubts allayed this year by a great *volk-festival* celebrating the 50th anniversary of Union, to be followed by a referendum on changing the state from a monarchy to a republic (thus exorcising the ghost of British imperialism).

Yet the monolithic character of Afrikaner rigidity can be over-stressed. The man who shot Verwoerd was not a Bantu, but a farmer of English extraction, and while the assassination attempt will temporarily harden the split between the Afrikaner and the non-whites, it also dramatizes the split between South African whites themselves. Moreover, the business community has begun to be very uneasy about the government's repressive policy, for reasons both practical and principled. The strong disapproval by our State Department of Nationalist brutality and comments such as that of the British Foreign Secretary, Selwyn Lloyd (that the *apartheid* policy is "wrong and unworkable") have had a real, though barely visible as yet, effect.

Furthermore, the Nationalists have no monopoly on resolution. The African gains strength every time the Nationalists use one of their weapons against him, because he sees that it has not destroyed him. The first use of tanks was awesome; now they are dangerous obstacles but no more. The state of emergency was always thought of as the ultimate weapon, but now it too has been used, and while the riots certainly dwindled, resistance did not collapse. The banning of African organizations will probably only make it harder for the secur-

ity police to infiltrate them, and it will teach them how to go underground.

It is the old story of extremes breeding extremes. Since the rise of the Pan-Africanist Congress, the blacks have had a leadership that will not scruple at imprisonment or death. Whites only lately have begun to realize, perhaps too late, that they would have done well to negotiate with more amenable non-whites, such as Chief Albert Luthuli and his African National Congress. Two days before the recent riots, Luthuli had told a South African newspaper: "You have nothing to fear from us if you treat us fairly. We do not want to kick you out of the country and we do not want to marry your sisters. All we want is a fair deal in our own country. We demand it and we intend to get it. We have accepted your civilization, we like it, and we are absorbing it as fast as we can – despite the efforts of your government to cut us off from it."

But now, the tougher and more fanatical followers of

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe and his Pan-Africanist Congress may be supplanting the older leaders, and the Congress has, it is reported, a trained second string ready to take over now that Sobukwe is in jail.

One fears that the deaths of the last three weeks and the attempted assassination have done what Verwoerd could not accomplish on his own, built an insurmountable barrier between the races and shut off what good will had miraculously managed to survive. Only a fool would say what Verwoerd's Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said two weeks ago: "Race relations between whites and blacks have never been as good as they are at present." Not only have they never been worse, they have probably been ruined, and even if moderate leadership were to replace Verwoerd tomorrow, South Africa would gain no more than an uneasy peace. This land of many vital and talented peoples, of great natural resources and beauty, has been torn apart. Verwoerd has created *apartheid*, with bullets.

LOUIS H. BEAN ON ELECTION PROSPECTS IN 1960 – VII

A Catholic or a Two-Time Loser

Can a Roman Catholic win this year? Can a twice defeated candidate win? To save you the trouble of looking to the end of this article, the answer is "yes."

Let's take the Catholic question first. Few may recall that 20 years ago it was raised in connection with James Farley as a possible Presidential candidate who would prevent Franklin Roosevelt from trying for a third term. In a book I wrote in 1948 I commented on the electability of a Catholic and have no reason in 1960 to alter what I then wrote:

"Religion is sometimes a more powerful factor in distorting normal political behavior than economic interests, or even issues of war and peace. The 1928 experience, when anti-Catholic feeling was strong enough to turn several traditionally Democratic states to the Republican candidate, will color the judgment of politicians for a long time to come. Sometimes it may color their judgment too strongly, as I suspect was the case when Democratic leaders rated James Farley's chances as Presidential candidate very low because he was a Catholic. They probably failed to consider that in 1928, when the country was 41 percent Democratic, the net effect of the anti-Smith campaign was to reduce

the Democratic electoral total in the South by about 70 votes. Had the country then been more evenly divided – say 55 percent Democratic and 45 percent Republican in 1940 – the Democratic losses in the South would have been offset by gains in other states. A political campaign in 1940 similar to that of 1928 might have left the national balance unchanged at about 55 percent Democratic and we would have demonstrated, by electing a Catholic to the Presidency, that in our national politics we can rise above religious prejudice."

I noted then that in states where 40 to 65 percent of church membership was Catholic, Al Smith gained 5 to 15 percentage points over a normal Democratic vote in these states, and where Catholic Church membership fell below 30 percent Al Smith's vote fell below normal. Other things being equal, a Catholic Democrat has a net advantage of 4 to 6 points in the Eastern, Middle and Western states, which more than offsets losses in the South. This evidence led me to say:

"These statistical analyses add to our general knowledge the possibility that Democratic losses in Southern states can be offset by Democratic gains in the North, and that in a year when the nation is 55 percent Demo-

cratic, for example, the injection of the religious issue, with a candidate as popular and able as Smith, would not necessarily cause the country to go Republican."

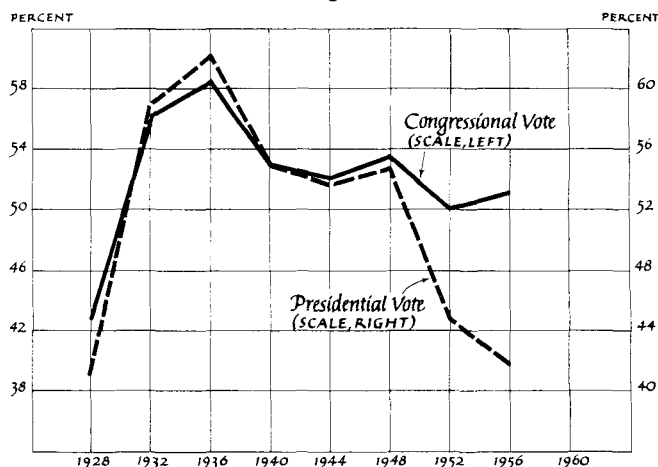
America today, according to Gallup, is more than 55 percent Democratic. Therefore, even assuming the same degree of bias pro and con as in 1928, we must conclude that Al Smith could win in 1960. In rating Senator Kennedy's chances, the real question is not primarily the religious one, but whether the country as a whole will remain 55 percent or more Democratic, what issues in addition to the religious one would dominate the campaign, and how the campaign would be managed.

What about the chances of a two-time loser? The often cited failure of the thrice-chosen nominee William Jennings Bryan is not a valid basis for saying that Adlai Stevenson can't win in '60. Bryan first ran for office in 1896, following the great depression of 1893-94, which terminated Democratic control of Congress. His chances as a Democrat were about as good as Republican chances after the 1929-32 depression. Furthermore, his main issue - to monetize silver as a companion to gold - was in effect an inflation proposal that appealed to sparsely populated farm and mining states, but not to the wealthier and more populated Eastern states. In the 1900 and 1908 campaigns the silver issue was no longer important and the Republican full dinner pail served as well against Bryan as the promise of full employment served Democrats in the 1940's. In short, Bryan ran on an issue which proved to be too unpopular in a predominantly Republican era.

Whether Stevenson could win or not is a question of greatest interest to his many followers who would like to see a deadlocked convention draft him to oppose Nixon, and who are not afraid of the "twice-defeated" argument. But their optimism can be supported by statistical analyses, just as the optimism of Kennedy's supporters can find support in the 1928 election results.

The statistical analysis of the Eisenhower-Stevenson vote that I want to offer turns on the fact that normally the national popular vote for President divides about the same way as does the vote for Congressional candidates. On the average, as shown in the accompanying chart, a 50 percent Democratic vote nationally for Congressmen is accompanied by a 52 percent Democratic vote for President, and for the elections from 1928 to 1948 these two percentages have gone up and down in close agreement. In 1952, however, Stevenson received only 45 percent of the popular vote or about 5-6 points less than that indicated by the popular Congressional vote. Why? The general assumption is that voters didn't like his speeches, his manners, his wit. But to blame Stevenson for his defeat instead of Eisenhower would be giving little credit to the effect of Eisenhower's personality and popularity, and practically no credit to "Madison Avenue's" part in the 1952 campaign. I think it is more realistic to say that Eisen-

DEMOCRATIC PERCENT OF POPULAR VOTE (Presidential and Congressional Candidates)



hower's popularity and what Republican strategists were able to do with it cost Stevenson about 5 percent of the total two-party vote in 1952.

In 1956, Stevenson's national percentage of the total vote dropped to 42, when according to the Congressional vote as a norm it should have been 10-11 points higher. What brought on this greater defeat? If you followed the 1956 polls closely you will recall that Stevenson's percentage, which had remained fairly stable during September-October, dropped about 5 percentage points during the few days before the election, as a result, in my opinion, of the Hungarian revolt and the Suez crisis.

I think it is not far fetched to say that the combination of Eisenhower's popularity and the Suez crisis cost Stevenson about 10 percent of the total two-party vote in 1956 or something over 6 million votes. Stevenson's basic potential strength in 1956 was therefore 52-53 percent compared with the actual vote of 42 percent.

The judgments that a Catholic could win and that a twice-defeated candidate also can win have recently been tentatively "corroborated." In a poll among 1956 Eisenhower voters in 12 typical wards in New York, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and Los Angeles taken in February-March, 1960, we found that about a fifth of them would shift to Stevenson, were he to be drafted to run against Nixon. A statewide poll of California voters taken about the same time produced these results:

Stevenson	54	Kennedy	53
Nixon	46	Nixon	47
	—		—
	100		100

Applying my formula - as California goes so goes the nation - these tests suggest that (as of March, 1960) either Stevenson or Kennedy could win.

WISCONSIN

The Primary That Nobody Won

The make-or-break Wisconsin primary has come and gone leaving in its wake unfulfilled predictions, unanswered questions and conflicting claims. Republicans expressed satisfaction that Nixon polled 30 percent of the vote without entering the state, but were clearly disappointed that he ran last. Democrats expressed gratification that Senators Kennedy and Humphrey won 70 percent of all votes cast, but were nervous about the potentially divisive effects of the religious issue. Senator Kennedy expressed pleasure at having won 56 percent of the Democratic vote and 6 of the 10 Congressional districts, but was not entirely happy about the character and margin of his victory. Only Senator Humphrey said he was unqualifiedly pleased.

By early March, Kennedy's drive had gained impressive momentum. He led the public opinion polls. He won firm, if reluctant, commitments from Maryland and Ohio. He prodded Senator Symington into open candidacy. He found growing interest among the big delegations of Illinois, New York, California and Michigan. Kennedy not only needed to win in Wisconsin but also to prove that his appeal was as great among Wisconsin's Protestant farmers and small town dwellers as among Massachusetts' predominantly urban Catholic population.

Senator Humphrey had more limited objectives. He wanted to prove that his campaigning skill and political appeal equalled that of the Democratic front-runner and to break through widespread indifference to his candidacy. Above all, Humphrey needed national publicity. On only one issue did the candidates agree passionately that they agreed: that religion should not influence the voters' choice. With this, the voters disagreed.

Roman Catholics, who constitute 30 percent of the Wisconsin electorate, turned out *en masse* for Senator Kennedy. In areas with a small Catholic population, he went down to defeat. In the 10 counties with the lowest percentage of Catholics, Kennedy ran behind both Humphrey and Nixon. In the 10 counties with the highest percentage of Catholics, Kennedy came in first. Farmers in both the central and Western portions of the state voted solidly for Humphrey; Negroes voted three and four to one for him. Protestants, both urban and rural, tended to support either Humphrey or Nixon. Labor, most of whose local leadership supported Humphrey, was ordered from Washington not to make an endorsement; as a result, what might have been a labor vote split along religious lines. The extent to which

Catholics of both parties rallied behind Kennedy surprised both the candidates and the experts. Elmo Roper called it "one of the most striking examples of bloc voting I have ever seen," and added that all Republican Catholics interviewed in his statewide survey who intended to cross over said they planned to vote for Kennedy. An analysis of small towns in Dane County, a traditionally Democratic stronghold in the center of the state, underscores the extent to which religious identification dominated all else. There, towns heavily Norwegian and Lutheran gave Humphrey majorities of two and three to one; the few predominantly Catholic towns in the same county rolled up similar margins for Kennedy. That Republican Catholics crossed over to vote for Kennedy was shown in the traditionally Republican and heavily Catholic Eighth District where Kennedy outpolled Humphrey by almost three to one. The Eighth District, combined with Wisconsin's two other most heavily Catholic Districts (the Fourth and Sixth), accounted for more than 96,000 of Kennedy's 106,967 vote margin.

But, just as Wisconsin's Catholics demonstrated a marked preference for Kennedy, Wisconsin's farmers expressed an equally marked preference for Humphrey. There are 26 counties in Wisconsin, more than 80 percent of whose population is found on farms and in towns of 2,500 or less. Of these, Humphrey carried 20, although these counties comprise the backbone of Republican strength in Wisconsin. All four Districts carried by Humphrey are important farming areas; three border on Minnesota and the other is in the center of the state. Kennedy's victory in central Wisconsin's Seventh District at first appeared to indicate substantial inroads among Protestant farmers. Closer analysis reveals, however, that more than 5,000 of Kennedy's 6,122 vote margin in that District came from Portage County, which is the most strongly Catholic county in the entire state (64 percent).

Since election experts have attached great importance to the urban Negro vote in swing states of the North, Humphrey's great strength among Wisconsin's Negroes deserves special mention. Negroes constitute approximately one percent of Wisconsin's population and are concentrated in four Milwaukee wards. Humphrey carried all of these Negro wards by large margins. In the two wards which are 90 percent colored, Humphrey outpolled Kennedy and Nixon by three and four to one.

JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK

Those Old Folks Back Home

Once it was commonplace to say that American partisan politics was a Tweedledee-Tweedledum affair. But the maneuvering of Republicans and Democrats these past weeks on proposals to provide better medical care for the elderly knocks that cliché in the head. Who is on which side of this welfare debate can be seen by observing the controversy over the Forand bill.

Nearly two years ago, Rep. Aime J. Forand (D, R.I.) introduced his modest and at that time relatively obscure proposal to amend the Social Security Act to provide medical care for about 11 million people who are receiving or who are eligible for Old Age and Survivors Insurance benefits. All hospitalization costs for no more than 60 days (in hospitals that have entered the program) would be covered — except for the attending doctor's fee (and this too would be included if it is for surgery). Under Forand's insurance scheme all surgery done in the hospital or, in an emergency, in the doctor's office would be covered; likewise convalescence in a nursing home up to 120 days a year. And the benefits would be financed not out of general revenues but by an additional $\frac{1}{4}$ of one percent on the social security tax levied on both employers and employees.

Letters from the folks back home for some program are becoming irresistible. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare itself has pointed out that, "Older persons have larger than average medical care needs. As a group they use about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as much hospital care as the average for persons under 65." To this, add that there are now about $15\frac{1}{3}$ million Americans who are 65 or older, and that three-fifths of them last year had less than \$1,000 on which to live. By using the present structure of social security to finance medical services, as Mr. Forand suggests, benefits would not be "hand-outs" but would be paid by the beneficiaries; the cost would be spread over virtually the whole working population and their employers; it would immediately cover a very large majority of those who are in greatest need; and it would not impose on voluntary insurance rates the added costs attributable to the aged whose medical demands are the heaviest.

Suddenly, like an oily rag stuffed in the corner of a closet and forgotten, the Forand bill has caught fire, thanks in part to the nearness of November, but in greater part to massive opposition by the Doctors Doo-little of the American Medical Association. Since there are about 80 older folks for every one member of the

AMA, some kind of legislation is going to be passed. But when, in what form and under whose auspices?

It was the President who made the widely-reported decision to block Welfare Secretary Flemming's "positive" program of aid to the aged. But it was the Vice President who got credit for wanting to *do* something. Not at all against Nixon's wishes, reporters implied (not for attribution) that he had put pressure on conservative Republicans to support a liberal alternative to the Forand bill. A spokesman for the Vice President and a GOP member of the House Ways and Means Committee both, however, privately denied that this ever happened. In several meetings with Secretary Flemming, Mr. Nixon had urged that some kind of "acceptable" solution be found (acceptable first to the AMA and the insurance companies, then, hopefully, to the aged). But there is no evidence that he at any time discussed the details of the many proposals drafted by Health, Education and Welfare; nor did he endorse any of them. On the contrary, from the beginning, Nixon has insisted he would not support any "compulsory" scheme, thus ruling out four HEW draft formulas which called for an enforced hike in social security taxes.

During the first two weeks in March, debate within the Administration reached a critical stage. House Ways and Means hearings were scheduled to begin on March 14, with Mr. Flemming as the first witness. He had argued with the Bureau of the Budget, with White House officials and even before the Cabinet, but the tide was against him. Plans requiring a boost in social security taxes were rejected because of their "socialistic" flavor; the formula of increasing federal-state subsidies to public assistance programs was then turned down because of its cost. Thus, at the opening of the Committee hearings, Flemming had to confess he had nothing to recommend. He pleaded for, and got, a nine-day reprieve, which he wanted because he had started work on a new watered-down plan he hoped might win over the Administration, calling for federal-state grants to help the aged purchase catastrophic illness coverage from voluntary health groups and private insurance companies, with premiums pegged to individual incomes and the government picking up some of the tab.

Struggling to muster support for this compromise, the Secretary called in leaders of the AMA, the American Hospital Association and the insurance companies and bluntly warned them that if the Administration did

nothing, some conservative Congressmen would be driven to back the Forand bill because of massive constituent demand. He made no converts.

The showdown came at a secret White House meeting, which Mr. Nixon did not attend, on the Friday before the Secretary was supposed to make his second appearance before Ways and Means. The conference adjourned without Flemming's receiving the go-ahead he wanted. And so, on the following Wednesday, March 23, the Secretary repeated to the House Committee that "we have not reached a conclusion . . ." He was, however, beginning "immediately to consult further with experts in government, with outside experts and groups, and with state officials." But, "it is of course not possible to predict the length of time it will take for these consultations. Moreover, I am not now in a position to predict just how long it will take to resolve the basic issues I have just identified and any others that may arise."

Rep. Hale Boggs (D, La.) asked whether the Vice President had exerted any pressure at the White House. "You had better ask the Vice President," said Mr. Flemming. Mr. Boggs noted that Nixon was being credited with breaking the log jam within the Administration on this matter: "Now, Mr. Secretary, has this log jam been broken?" In the outburst of laughter, the Secretary never got to answer.

Representative Forand (who will retire from the Congress this year) thereupon announced he would file a discharge petition for his bill, which had been turned down by Ways and Means — all eight Republicans voting against. A second White House meeting was hastily called. This one Nixon did attend, and when it was over the press was advised that the Administration, though it did not yet have a "plan," had some "guidelines." What were they? Well, the program would have to be "voluntary," a euphemism for non-governmental. It would have to be administered by the states, which is to say administered by state Welfare and Health Departments, totally unequipped for this complicated task and which would require complete restaffing; its coverage would be "somewhat limited," which is self-explanatory; insurance would be provided by private companies and based on the income of the insured, which is to say by applying a means test; and the program would be financed out of general tax revenues, which is to say by increasing federal spending — to which the Administration generally and strenuously objects.

The Senate subcommittee on problems of the aged and the aging which met the next day, April 6, was not satisfied. The more liberal and politically sagacious Republicans were feeling poorly. Mr. Dirksen shouted "stinking" and "insane" at witnesses testifying in favor of the Forand bill and seemed to be running a high fever. Secretary Flemming had no more to say than he had said previously. Asked why, after seven years, a

proposal was not yet ready he replied: "It probably reflects the complexity of the problem."

All this was too much for Senator Javits, who two days earlier had called and then abruptly called off a press conference to put forward "an affirmative alternative" to Forand. On April 7, Javits and seven liberal Republicans in the Senate introduced their "entirely independent venture," that is to say one that did not have Administration backing. Senator Javits, realistically anticipating Treasury opposition, predicted the Administration "would bridle at the amounts involved." It was a gesture, no more. Mr. Nixon was noncommittal.

Upon examination, the Javits proposal appears to have most of the weaknesses of the "guidelines" hinted earlier by the Administration. The extent of the benefits would be determined by the states, since the states would be required to match federal subsidies. The history of matching programs illustrates how few states are able and willing to appropriate maximum amounts for social services. In this case, the cost to the states is estimated at \$640 million a year. Some of the richer states might do their share, but these are the states where the needs of the aged are usually the best met: one of the problems all along has been the inequality of services, state by state.

Moreover, even if the states were to subscribe their full amounts, benefits would be inadequate. For example, the bill would allow a *maximum* of \$250 a year for hospitalization, and according to an HEW survey submitted 12 months ago by Mr. Flemming to the House Ways and Means Committee, "The median costs [in 1958] . . . for those couples [65 or over] reporting at least one episode of hospitalization for either member (excluding those receiving a 'free service' or with unknown costs) was about \$700."

There will be more than a few bloody noses by the time this fight has gone another round. The AMA has just released a letter dated April 1, 1960, which was sent to thousands of doctors throughout the country by the Vice President's administrative assistant, Robert Fitch, one paragraph of which says: "He [the Vice President] believes that the best way to handle the problem of people over 65 who do not have *and cannot afford health insurance* is through a program *which will enable those who desire to do so to purchase health insurance* covering catastrophic illnesses from private group carriers on a voluntary basis." [Italics added.] That shows where Mr. Nixon stands. Meanwhile, Mr. Forand's discharge petition is being circulated; it is rumored that Rep. Wilbur Mills (D, Ark.) is preparing another proposal; the White House is still murmuring about a plan it will unwrap in a week or so, perhaps while the President is in Augusta for spring training; and by late summer the medical gap may have shoved the missile gap way to the rear as a campaign issue.

GILBERT A. HARRISON

Reporting the Labor Story

by William Abbott

A Roper poll of December, 1959, listed 12 current public concerns and asked: "Which do you think are serious moral problems?" 89 percent of those interviewed named juvenile delinquency. School segregation had a 71 percent vote, disarmament 66 percent, rigged TV shows 41 percent, payola 34 percent. And 88 percent listed dishonest labor leaders! The only reference to business wrongdoing among the poll's 12 problems came under the heading of false advertising. There was no mention of profiteering in drugs, administered prices, using call girls to sell products or the running of businesses by racketeers.

Considering that Robert Kennedy, the Counsel for the McClellan Committee which investigated labor racketeering, has said that only "a small fraction of one percent of all the 430,000 trade union officials are corrupt or dishonest," the Roper poll's finding becomes highly interesting; even more interesting when one recalls that during the period in which the Teamster escapades were being exposed, *Fortune* magazine reported that embezzlers, many of whom were highly respected American businessmen, steal from \$500 million to \$3 billion a year.

And while the McClellan Committee accused five unions of taking \$5 million from union tills, *Life* magazine reported that \$5 billion changed hands among business and professional men in bribes, kickbacks and pay-offs. In terms of the sheer bulk of money mishandled the public presumably should have been more agitated about dishonest business officials than their labor counterparts. They weren't, and one must ask why. One answer lies in the power of the American newspapers as a special interest lobby, a lobby which campaigned for the Labor-Management Disclosure Act of 1959.

The accusation can be made – and only too well documented – that from 1957 through 1959 the press of the nation, by and large, engaged in a massive effort to pass legislation which unions without dissent considered punitive. The newspaper lobby won its case by several proven propaganda techniques: (1) It headlined corruption in unions on its front pages while it played down stories of business corruption. (2) By constant linking of the words "union" and "rackets" it conveyed the strong impression that there was probably as much fire as there was smoke in the allegations of wholesale racketeering in unions. (3) It probably helped influence

the conduct of the publicity-seeking McClellan Committee by minimizing or ignoring stories of anti-union thuggery and the violations of civil liberties of union sympathizers. In the process it built one James Hoffa into a monstrous devil or a martyr (and built up Hoffa in his union, too), depending upon where a man stood.

Headlines in the *Akron Beacon-Journal*, which the local labor movement considers more fair-minded than most newspapers, illustrate a press pattern during the 1959 campaign for a new labor law: "5 Labor Unions 'Taken' For 5 Million"; "Kohler Accuses UAW of Terror"; "Barden Bill Hits 'Union Tyranny'"; "Seek Link Between Hoffa, Underworld"; "O'Neil Says Labor Bosses Frantic"; "Crackdown on Union Reds Urged"; "Union Men Held in Extortion Plot."

During the Nathan Shefferman period when the McClellan Committee was investigating anti-union rackets, the stories on the hearings were dropped into inside pages, and even then the Teamsters Union often drew top billing. All investigations of business skulduggery soon stopped. Where was the news value?

The playing down of management misdeeds is again shown in the *Akron Beacon-Journal* of June 25, 1959, which gave a Teamster corruption story in Pittsburgh two columns on the front page. The same edition carried the news of the indictment of the home-town Firestone Tire and Rubber Company on charges of price-fixing. It made page 53.

The *New York Times Index* for that year (1957) contained 10 columns of stories on labor racketeering, three columns on Union "Reds" and 16½ columns on all other labor stories including strikes. There were almost as many stories on racketeering and Communism in unions as on all labor's other activities combined.

If It's a Union Man, It's Not News

Typical of the way newspapers report – or rather do not report – news likely to create a sympathetic attitude toward unions is the story of Hosiery Workers organizer, Robert Beame. Almost lynched on Feb. 11, 1959, in Franklin, North Carolina, for trying to help organize a union, Beame, battered and beaten, escaped the mob in a wild auto chase. The national press had two chances at the story. The *Chattanooga Times* printed an interview with Beame from his hospital bed, and later Beame held a press conference for Washington, D. C., reporters. One reporter for a national press service swore that he sent the story out over the wire, but not a paper

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which was surveyed by this writer carried the story.

Stories of brutal attacks on union sympathizers became juicier in 1959 – but not to most newspapers. Highranking officials of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union were beaten, blackjacked and stabbed. A woman organizer was dragged out of her bed by a mob; a company gave its adherents baseball bats to use on its own workers who were trying to organize a plant; Sol Greene, Assistant General Manager of the Joint Press Council, was attacked on February 20, 1959, in Tenaflly, N. J., by a gang of thugs who used lead pipes and bottles; there were many, not just several, stories of city and town officials actively engaged in breaking strikes and union organizing drives.

In 1956, an Alabama Governor's Commission investigated a woodworkers strike in which an unarmed unionist had been shot in the stomach. The Commission found that town marshals and other officials in two towns were on the company payroll, that the 79 cents-an-hour woodworkers had to buy from the company store and live in company houses. Then the Commission's report mysteriously disappeared. Outside of labor papers, this story of violence and intrigue made only the Alabama papers. It became an established rule to write up ordinary union members struggling against odds *only* when they were fighting the leaders of their own union.

Textile Workers Washington Representative, John Edelman, began in 1957 to send out documented news releases giving a blow-by-blow account of what was happening to textile workers in the South. The Textile Union hoped publicity would force Congressional committees to hold hearings on the union's charges. These stories were largely ignored.

Playing up the Labor Boss Angle

What made "news" was the Teamsters Union! A poll of Associated Press editors in 1957 listed the Teamsters as the fourth best news story of the year. It had more copy value to these editors than the Middle East crisis, Asian flu, Hurricane Audrey or the fight over the civil rights bill. Reporters reported the capers of several Teamsters officials more religiously than sports writers reported the latest aches and pains of ball players. Their living habits, how they bet at the races, what they bought, what they ate and who cooked the meals were all described in detail.

When Illinois Sen. Paul Douglas wrote the *Chicago Sun-Times* in August, 1959, that the Landrum-Griffin bill would cripple union organizing drives and seriously threaten, if not break outright, small, weak unions, the *Sun-Times* replied Douglas had missed the point: "The basic issues," the paper asserted, "... [are], the provisions concerning blackmail picketing, secondary boycotts, hot cargo clauses and those instances where small businesses are frequently denied legal recourse by

both the NLRB and the local courts in labor disputes."

Thus, the "basic issues" were "business issues." To Paul Douglas there was another, rarely reported, issue – protecting a man's right to form and keep a union of his own choosing. The Senator used the letter-to-the-editor column to express a viewpoint on the labor bill at variance with all the major papers in the city.

In fairness to the press, hostility toward unions has lessened considerably over the years, and a Virginia newspaper publisher probably expressed the current general attitude when he remarked: "Unions are fine as long as they don't make trouble." Some unions report a high rate of success in placing stories favorable to them in even the most unlikely of newspapers. In one Ohio collective bargaining situation an ultra-conservative Hoiles newspaper, which was heatedly pro-company, gave the union equal space to present its case. But when the chips are down, a newspaper which lives on its advertising can usually be expected to act in what it considers its class interest. What happened *after* the labor bill was approved by Congress is evidence of that.

Right after passage, James Carey, President of the International Electrical Workers Union, wrote a letter to members of Congress in which he told Congressmen who voted for the bill: "We will do all in our power to prove to the workingmen and women in your district that you have cast your lot against them and that they should take appropriate action at the ballot box."

The Carey letter said nothing that was not already widely-known. He repeated the long-standing AFL-CIO policy of furnishing voting record information to union members. But what a sensation saying nothing new caused. "Carey's threat," made front-page headlines across the land for several days. Then, when the "news value" wore a bit thin, big pictures of Congressmen standing up to this labor boss adorned the papers.

But the press throughout the nation failed to pick up a story in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* which reported the woes of Georgia Democrat, Erwin Mitchell, who was weighted down by pressures from the business lobby supporting the Landrum-Griffin bill. From the time the Chamber of Commerce first got in touch with him until after the bill was passed Congressman Mitchell was pounded by phone calls, letters and telegrams from wealthy and influential business leaders. "Don't make it difficult for us to support you, Erwin. Campaigns are expensive, you know."

While the Carey letter got headlines, there were few or no stories in most papers about business pressures on behalf of Landrum-Griffin.

Isn't it a "serious moral issue" if 94 cities have single ownership papers, and if this means that access to divergent points of view is denied, and if most American newspapers largely feature a one-class point of view? What becomes of "freedom of the press"?

In Maryland, one Congressman said fellow Demo-

crats urged him not to run for office because he was identified too closely with labor and "McClellan Committee headlines" alone would defeat him. And while he did win the election the incident illustrates the power of the headline on the thinking of political strategists.

Some brush the problem aside with the comment that nothing the papers say matters much, that the press breeds a healthy cynicism, and that people no longer believe what they read. "More Milwaukeeans swear at this paper than swear by it," said a Milwaukee politician who was explaining the success of candidates a Milwaukee newspaper opposed. But if it's true, isn't *that* a "serious moral issue?"

Go to Teamster halls around the nation and you will find that the very people most denounced in the press

are among the ones most honored – and sincerely so. Why? Because the press has built Hoffa and friends into heroes for many a unionist. If the press one-sidedly reports the news, if on its front and editorial pages it opposes a large number of labor programs with which workers identify, why should Teamsters believe what the press has to say about their leaders?

The only answer to this situation I know is to create other kinds of newspapers which express other points of views equally strongly. James Wechsler, editor of the *New York Post*, has suggested that labor itself must provide the answer by inaugurating daily papers in industrial centers. At present, however, labor has neither the money nor perhaps the will for such an undertaking. Yet, if labor does not do it, what other power group can?

PROCLAMATIONS

From Ingersoll to Emerson to Adams to Ford

In 1823, in a burst of exuberant republican fervor, Charles Jared Ingersoll dismissed the future of the humanities in America, declaring that the "influence of the American mind was practical," precursing to a degree Coolidge's pronouncement that the business of America is business. With what may have been overstatement, Ingersoll lauded the good taste of America's press, the nobility of her medical profession, and the tolerance of her clergy, and did not hesitate to announce that, thanks to public education, "every husbandman understands the philosophy of politics better than many princes of Europe." The arts were a monopoly fit for old Europe, but new America would mature the sciences with her popular institutions.

However, Ingersoll's confidence could not meet the more ethereal demands of the elder Henry James. Rejecting the accumulation of wealth as the mark of a great nation – Ingersoll had heralded the "philosophy of comfort" – James proclaimed that America was to be a vehicle for the Incarnation of God through human unity. Europe had concerned itself with civilizing barbarians, James' mystic Republic would devote itself to making "men out of mere citizens." Since then, particularly when running for office, Americans have paid their respects to the Senior James' religion of democracy, but they have more often agreed with Henry Adams' cabinet officer: "You can't use tact with a Congressman! A Congressman is a hog! You must take a stick and hit him on the snout!"

More intelligible than James Senior to the intelligentsia was Emerson's clarion call to the American scholar to cast off not merely the preeminence of the Old World (Ingersoll had routed Europe's courtly muses) but all established intellectual authority, both the Academy and Harvard: "Each age must write its own books. . . . The book of an older period will not fit this. . . . I had better never see a book than to be warped by its attraction clean out of my own orbit and made a satellite instead of a system. . . . Character is higher than intellect. Thinking is the function. Living is the functionary." Yet Emerson, after seeing Thoreau glaring out through prison bars, wrote: "I do not wish to push my criticism of the state of things around me to . . . an absolute isolation from the advantages of civil society."

As for Thoreau, he had no such compunction and could declaim with Melville's Ahab: "The path to my fixed purpose is laid with iron rails whereon my soul is grooved to run. . . . Naught's an obstacle, naught's an angle to the iron way!" Counseling every man to defy the encroachments of society and the wise man to reject it *in toto*, Thoreau demanded that outworn Christian conformity be replaced by Puritan anarchism. Society befouled, nature alone was pure, and only in solitude could one harken to one's self. The intellectual had no obligation to free his fellows imprisoned in their labors and lusts, but by freeing himself from the flesh and the devil of authority, he would liberate by example.

What was Ingersoll's practical American to make of

a man who could pen such blasphemy as: "We are in great haste to construct a magnetic telegraph from Maine to Texas; but Maine and Texas, it may be, have nothing to communicate." It was not for Emerson, who said of Thoreau's austerity: "He had no temptations to fight against – no appetites, no passions."

Where Emerson had urged the American scholar to intellectual rebellion and Thoreau to withdrawal, Wendell Phillips scathed the scholar as a Pharisee for not defending the inarticulate exploited laboring masses. "A chronic distrust of the people pervades the book-educated class of the North," he declaimed and lashed out at "that nauseous hypocrisy which, stung by three-penny tea-tax, piles Bunker Hill with granite and statues, prating all the time of patriotism and broadswords, while, like another Pecksniff, it recommends a century of dumb submission and entire non-resistance to the Russians." The stolid gentlemen of the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa received this blast without flinching. Phillips' eloquence was as ineffective in Cambridge as if he had attempted to expound the Higher Criticism to Brigham Young.

If Wendell Phillips was convinced that the struggle would avail for a better world, Henry Adams foresaw only the bleakest future for America – after all, the Republic had forsaken the guidance of the Adams clan, and "the progress of evolution from President Washington to President Grant was alone evidence to upset Darwin." The Republic, sustained at such great cost, was not the last best hope of earth but subject to the same entropic laws of degeneration which apparently cooled the sun and toppled empires. The energy of democracy was dissipated in the bleating of the masses and the cynicism of their masters. Though the scholar might flee to the cannibal isles and behold, without partaking in, the primal innocence of savagery or flee to the gentle Virgin through whom the horrors of multiplicity are resolved in the unity of maternity, he could not stay the hand of doom. Ultimately intellect was of no avail: "Chaos was the law of nature; order was the dream of man." Still the desire to know was as boundless as the endeavor was futile, and the distraught Puritan, Henry Adams, died mouthing prayers to the Lady of Chartres, symbol alike of sexual energy and intellectual unity:

Help me to bear! not my own baby load,
But yours; who bare the failure of the light,
The strength, the knowledge, and the thought of
God –
The futile folly of the Infinite!

While Adams had sought release from modern drift, Walter Lippmann, fresh from Harvard, advocated mastery through directed "benevolent intelligence." American society was drifting in an uncharted sea of social change and mawkish myth, and Lippmann was as

qualified to be its pilot as fine schools and good mind could make him. "The American temperament leans generally to a kind of mystical anarchism, in which the 'natural' humanity of each man is adored as the savior of society." Such popular myths offer no solution. "What is common to them all is a failure to deal with the real world in the light of its possibilities. . . . We have lost authority. The scientific spirit is the discipline of a democracy, the escape from drift, the outlook of a free man." Amid similar demands for a regime of literate technocrats, Lippmann made some observations on the contemporary scene as startling as Ingersoll's: there is a discernible growth of public spirit, and commercialism will be doomed by the rise of industrial statesmen at the head of great combines; hence the profiteer is obsolete and the muckraker has served his purpose. But in 1932, Lippmann counseled a Columbia University graduating class: "I doubt whether the student can do a greater work for his nation at this great moment of its history than to detach himself from its preoccupations, refusing to let himself be absorbed by distractions about which, as a scholar, he can do almost nothing. For this is not the last crisis in human affairs It will go on best, however, if among us there are men who have stood apart, who refused to be anxious or too much concerned, who were cool and inquiring, and had their eyes on a longer past and a longer future."

Some years before, the sympathies of many Americans had gone out to a folk hero who had not stood apart and of whom Ingersoll would have approved. *The Chicago Tribune* had partially libeled Henry Ford as an "ignorant anarchist." The Auto King sued the *Tribune* for \$1 million and at the ensuing trial cleared himself of the anarchist charge, but failing to identify either Benedict Arnold or *chili con carne*, he was awarded six cents damages. Still, Ford's millions were more impressive than his command of history – after all, "I can find a man in five minutes to tell me all about it." Surely the Model-T and mass production were more concrete contributions to America than any book. "I don't like to read books," Ford admitted, "they mess up my mind." For intellectual stimulation, Ford could turn to the incarnation of practical genius, Thomas Alva Edison, who shared his antipathy to Wall Street and alcohol as instruments of International Jewry. Edison, who convinced Ford that his own inventions came about through metempsychosis, expressed a preference for Napoleon over Jesus: "I like a hustler!" And when at last, Warren Gamaliel Harding was permitted to join Ford, Edison and Harvey Firestone on their annual camping trip and motorcade, the American Pantheon was complete.

THOMAS W. AFRICA

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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Conrad - The Hollow Center

by Michael Straight

Mr. Baines calls his study of Conrad "a critical biography." His purpose is to approach the works through the man. It is an approach which Conrad himself rejected. "Once the last page is written," he told Arthur Symonds, "the man does not count. He is nowhere." Nonetheless, Mr. Baines' method is sound. For, in the case of Conrad, the man dominates the works to an extent that is rare among great writers. His style is the personal style of one who approached

Joseph Conrad
A Critical Biography
by Jocelyn Baines
(McGraw-Hill; \$8.50)

the English language as a realm of literature rather than as a means of communication. His subject matter is limited to the landscapes he saw, the events he experienced, the men he knew. His central theme is the isolation of the individual; it reflects his own isolation, an exile from the land of his fathers; a stranger in the country of his choice; an enemy of the autocracy that oppressed his family; a protestant against the democratic sweep of his age. "Most of my life has been spent between sky and water," he wrote, "and I live so alone that often I fancy myself clinging stupidly to a derelict planet abandoned by its precious crew."

Fantasies such as this trace the borders of schizophrenia; they point to childhood dislocation. Mr. Baines makes no attempt to classify Conrad's personality, but he begins his study, quite rightly, with the terrible childhood in which Conrad's character was cast. He quotes from the letters of Conrad's father: "My poor wife has been dying for several years; our little Conrad is inevitably neglected." Again: "The poor child does not know what it is to have a playmate his own age. He looks at my wizened sorrow and who knows whether

this sight does not cover his youthful heart with wrinkles and his awakening soul with hoarfrost."

Conrad's mother died of tuberculosis when he was eight. His father surrounded himself with images of his dead wife and died slowly - also of tuberculosis - in the presence of his son. From these crushing experiences the boy took refuge at first in books. That was in keeping with his father's literary career. Then, at seventeen, Conrad fled to the sea and to a wholly different life. His activities were unwholesome; his companions were disreputable; his learning was laid aside; his literary heritage and talent were interred. He was, according to Mr. Baines, "irresponsible, undisciplined, inconsiderate, sensitive, highly-strung, passionate, apparently rather susceptible to female attraction and apparently prone to morbid depression." Harsh as it is, this description would not have seemed unjust to Conrad's devoted uncle and guardian, Thaddeus Bobrowski. "I have not lost hope that something may yet come of him," Bobrowski wrote when Conrad was 22. He clung to his hope with more tenacity than logic through the seven years that followed.

Conrad sailed to the far corners of the earth in those years. He encountered Almayer and Willems, Kurtz and McWhirr. But neither Bobrowski, nor Conrad himself, imagined that these experiences would become a part of the world's lasting literature. To Conrad, the reward for his labors was the Masters Certificate which he gained when he was twenty-nine; Bobrowski also was content. "I can only be glad that my groats were not wasted," he wrote to his nephew, "but led you to the peak of your chosen profession." He did not know that Conrad had entered a short story in competition for sailors with literary leanings. (Conrad won no prize.)

Mr. Baines has uncovered some new material in reviewing Conrad's early

years; for the most part, however, he discusses events that other biographers have made familiar, notably Gerard Jean-Aubry, whose work, *The Sea Dreamer*, was reissued in 1957. M. Jean-Aubry brought to his study a generous devotion to the man he knew. Mr. Baines in contrast is strengthened by a healthy skepticism. The manner in which the two biographers treat Conrad's experiences in Marseilles indicates the contrast between French romanticism and British reserve.

Conrad himself wrote up the Marseilles adventure in *The Arrow of Gold*. The novel, he told Richard Curle, was, in all respects, a faithful rendering of his exploits as a gunrunner for the Carlists. M. Jean-Aubry accepts Conrad's assurance at face value. Conrad, he declares, was indeed M. George, the young hero of the "last dynastic venture of 19th-Century Europe." As to M. George's lover, the beautiful Rita de Lastaola, M. Jean-Aubry is unable to establish who she was but he has no doubts as to what she did. She went to bed, in fact as in fiction, first with a wealthy French painter, then with Don Carlos, the Spanish pretender, then with Conrad. She lived, M. Jean-Aubry assures us, in the rue Sylvabelle in Marseilles. She was "extremely attractive." She resisted Conrad's advances "for several months." Then, seeing him in utter defeat she surrendered, since "she no longer had the strength to fight against her infatuation." M. Jean-Aubry is able to pinpoint the time, the place and the duration of Conrad's affair with Dona Rita: "Its setting was probably in a quiet village in the Alpes Maritimes," and "it probably occupied the last two weeks of 1877 and the first two months of 1878." Then, M. Jean-Aubry tells us, Conrad's rival, Captain J. K. Blunt made things hot for the lovers. Conrad sent his seconds to Blunt; they fought a duel in which both men were wounded. M. Jean-Aubry is able to quote Conrad himself as proof that his hero's aim was fairly accurate: "Je lui ai fracassé la patte," Conrad wrote to a relative. As

to the time of this encounter, "The duel must have taken place in late February 1878," Jean-Aubry says, "for at the beginning of March, Uncle Thaddeus received a telegram telling him that his nephew had just received a bullet wound."

Mr. Baines' version of these events is, in contrast, rather dull. He agrees that Conrad was a member of a crew of smugglers. He adds that the exploits of the crew were highly dramatized in *The Arrow of Gold*. He finds some evidence of a Mr. Blunt in Marseilles, but none that Mr. Blunt and Conrad fought a duel. He cites Bobrowski as evidence that Conrad's bullet wound was self-inflicted in an attempted suicide precipitated by his gambling losses. As to the mysterious Dona Rita, she was, Mr. Baines believes, drawn from a Hungarian chorus girl named Paulina Horvath whom Don Carlos procured for himself in 1878 through the good offices of a Madame Hannover. Don Carlos, who was hard up at the time, apparently inveigled his Modena relatives into lending him a valuable heirloom and pawned the heirloom in order to keep Paulina in style; then, to cover himself, he announced that it had been stolen. This squalid business ended in the courts and was well publicized. Mr. Baines thinks that Conrad read about Paulina in the newspapers; he guesses that Conrad had a mistress of his own in Marseilles. He concludes that the two ladies were joined in the literary person of Dona Rita. But, in what should stand for some time as a high water mark of Conradian scholarship, Mr. Baines proves by chronology alone that, even had she wanted to, Paulina could not have journeyed to and fro between the beds of Don Carlos and Conrad.

From Marseilles on, the two biographies go their separate ways. Jean-Aubry draws loyally upon Conrad's own *Notes on Life and Letters*; he accepts without question Conrad's extraordinary account of how he came to write his first novel, *Almayer's Folly*. Mr. Baines in contrast approaches Conrad's writings on the assumption that "their revelatory value varies in inverse proportion to their proclaimed autobiographical content." He dismisses Conrad's description of the day he sat down and started the novel as a transparent falsehood. He does not hazard a

guess as to why Conrad was haunted by his friend, Almayer, a man "who governed his conduct by . . . incredible assumptions which rendered his logic impenetrable to any reasonable person." He does not ask why it was so important to Conrad that Kaspar Almayer should be destroyed. Mr. Baines does take up Almayer's incestuous and unrequited love for his daughter Nina. He notes that the father-daughter relationship recurs throughout Conrad's novels; he adds that the motif is always the same: "The father stands in the way of, and attempts to thwart his daughter's impulse towards what she believes to be her freedom and happiness." Mr. Baines points out that, in contrast, "there is a total absence of any significant relationship between father and son in Conrad's work although it was his relationship with his father that dominated Conrad's youth." Baines adds: "This situation was doubtless far too charged emotionally for Conrad to represent it directly, whereas his deepest impulses could find disguised expression through a portrayal of the father-daughter relationship."

In this passage, Mr. Baines fulfills his assignment as a critical biographer, providing fresh insights into the works of Conrad by a bold interpretation of the biographical data he has amassed. The reader moves on eagerly to Mr. Baines' analysis of Conrad's more important novels. But Mr. Baines, as if appalled by his own brashness, becomes cautious. He forgets the wise remark of Lytton Strachey: "Uninterpreted truth is as useless as buried gold."

Mr. Baines reviews the remaining works of Conrad in a painstaking, straightforward way, he does not paraphrase his author's plots in the manner of so many slothful and shallow biographers. He does not give in to the subtle temptation of reading more into Conrad than is there. Hawthorne, Melville, Henry James and Conrad himself have all been damaged by an attitude of indiscriminate adulation on the part of literary biographers. Mr. Baines in contrast, grants that Conrad wrote some passages of imperishable beauty and others that are more painful to read than Max Beerbohm's parody of Conradese. *Almayer's Folly* suffers in Mr. Baines' opinion from "banality . . . pretentiousness" and "an excessively liter-

ary and artificial style." *The Outcast of the Islands* is "excessively slow-moving"; *The Nigger of the Narcissus* is marred by "pretentious overwriting"; in *The Heart of Darkness* and *Lord Jim* "One may be tempted to wonder whether even Conrad himself was quite clear as to what he was trying to say." *Chance*, the most widely read of Conrad's novels, is "The least profound and the least satisfying." Even *Nostromo* is weakened by poor characterization as well as a melodramatic end. As for *The Arrow of Gold*, Mr. Baines notes that Conrad called it a "study of a woman." But, Mr. Baines adds, Conrad "takes up a position of prostrate adoration before Rita de Lastaola which makes any form of 'study' impossible. He envelopes her in a cocoon of sleazily romantic imagery . . . With repetitive and cliché-ridden pretentiousness he tries to give Rita 'something of the women of all time', but almost wholly fails to give her any individuality at all."

These comments seem to me to be unexceptionable. They are, however, the notations of an editor rather than the interpretations of a critic. Mr. Baines fails to reap the rewards of his own labor. He is unwilling to make use of the available instruments of psychoanalytical theory; he is reluctant to probe very far into Conrad's married life; he shrinks from imposing his own personality upon Conrad. He goes so far by way of self-denial as to praise the chronological treatment of Conrad's works which he employs because "it acts as a brake on the temptation to impose an artificial pattern of phases or periods through convenient selection and suppression." This is all very well, but the fact remains that phases can be discerned in Conrad's writings. Moreover, a good deal of brilliant interpretative criticism has been published on Conrad which Mr. Baines passes by. Gustav Morf has written most perceptively upon Conrad's sense of guilt and upon the unconscious ties that bind his characters. Paul Wiley has added weight to Conrad's rather insubstantial villains by suggesting that they represent the erotic impulses of his heroes. Thomas Moser has traced a large part of Conrad's literary failures to his fear of women and of love. "Still more important," according to Albert Guerard,

"is the fear of passivity . . . the concern with neurotic immobilization." Without extended reference to Conrad's life, all of these critics have probed more deeply than Mr. Baines into Conrad's work.

Conrad conceived of himself as a coal miner working in a pit. Most of the veins from which he cut his prose remain unexplored. One such vein is his monotonous recourse to death. Kurtz dies, Wait dies, Almayer dies; Verloc is stabbed to death; Mrs. Verloc kills herself; Razumov is left dying; Jim is shot, Nostromo is shot, Willems is shot; Decoud shoots himself; even the state of Costaguana, Conrad's social invention, ends in self-destruction, offering itself for annexation to its neighbor, Sulaco. Do Conrad's inventions perish

simply because their creator can find nothing to justify their continued existence? Or does their common end point to the author's early experience, which Mr. Baines presents but fails to assess? Conrad loved his characters; he learned early on that love led to death. Love in his work is riveted to hatred and to fear; does the identification reflect a well-established fantasy: the anger of the orphan against his mother and father for abandoning him? the guilt of the orphan which reflects his unconscious belief that he willed the deaths of his parents and thus brought it about?

If his work is founded upon fantasy, then it is no wonder that Joseph Conrad, himself, like Mister Kurtz, seems "hollow to the core."

by the Berkener Report of our scientists.

"Delay is dangerous. We cannot afford to let the negotiations drag. So long as the nuclear weapons race continues, more and more nations will seek prestige and influence by making their own atomic bombs. And as the list of nations armed with superbombs grows, the chances of avoiding a nuclear catastrophe will become less and less. The outcome of the present negotiations on bomb-testing by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union may truly be a turning point in history."

Further explanation of the purpose of this book is given in Fowler's Introduction: "In spite of their import for our future, the decisions of governments on these matters are not being formed and guided by public opinion. Apparently the difficult and subtle nature of nuclear problems turns most laymen away, and the distortions of public discussion have left those who have tried to understand in confusion and despair."

I might add, it is not only the laymen who are uninformed. Who in Congress or the Administration has the necessary scientific background to comprehend the long-range consequences of his

Required Reading on Fallout

by Jay Orear

"All men should strive to know before they die what they are running from, and to, and why'.

"James Thurber's moral from the tale of the lemmings and their confused dash into the sea seems singularly appropriate for atom-age man. The great advances we have made in weapons tech-

uncomfortably ignorant — on subjects which have seemed remote and mysterious. The scientists who have written it give us a rather detailed and clear picture of the anatomy of nuclear bombs and how they work; they clarify the peculiarities of radiation and the kinds of damage that fallout may be sowing in our environment, ourselves and our children; they describe in factual but vivid terms what a nuclear war would be like; and they explain what the issues are in the stalemated negotiations on the banning of bomb tests and nuclear disarmament."

Stevenson then goes on to present his personal opinion on these most vital matters. "Suspension of the testing of superbombs, which may have sounded daring or Utopian when I urged it in the 1956 campaign, became a historic fact in 1958. Indeed, cold logic and a realistic look at the facts persuaded both the West and the Soviet Union to suspend the testing of *all* nuclear weapons by tacit agreement, and to seek a formal agreement to make this suspension permanent. . . . The further step of banning nuclear bomb testing altogether, by prohibiting tests underground, has become a matter of technical ways and means: it should be possible to work out an enforceable control system on the basis of studies suggested

Fallout

edited by John M. Fowler
(Basic Books; \$5.50)

nology, coupled to the unchanging myopia of our several national visions, are accelerating us down the lemmings' path. If we are to stop short of nuclear annihilation, fear's closed eye and apathy's glazed eye must be cleared by knowledge."

So begins Professor John M. Fowler's book *Fallout*. The job of the reviewer has been made easier by Adlai Stevenson who on January 28, 1960, wrote in his forward: "This is not a book merely about fallout. It is a book about our nuclear quandary — about the circumstances that make our period the most uneasy in the history of mankind. . . . Some of the realities of the Atomic Age are set forth in this book. They are spelled out in language plain enough for anyone to understand: even a layman begins to feel more at home — or less

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acts? So far most of these acts have been taking us down the lemmings' path. It is perhaps too much to ask that all laymen study Fowler's book, but is it too much to ask of our politicians? We would have less reckless leadership if a minimum requirement for political office was to pass an examination on this book. Probably less than 5 percent of our politicians have taken a college physics course, a sad commentary on the backwardness of American education when it comes to science. But some of the fault lies with the scientists themselves. As Fowler says: "To present to the public the raw materials from which this opinion can be forged is both the privilege and the duty of the scientist. . . . For in our world of complex knowledge and burgeoning technology, scientists have not one but two essential duties: first, the traditional duty of seeking the truth; secondly, the duty to communicate to all who need it the knowledge gained in their search." Unfortunately the fraction of scientists who strongly feel this second duty is rather small. In our country the overwhelming majority of those "scientists with a conscience" is represented fairly well by the Federation of American Scientists, a national organization of over 2,000 scientists, mainly physicists. A smaller, highly influential group, mainly centered around Edward Teller, feel that "disarmament is a lost cause."

In addition to the five sections written by Fowler, there are eight other chapters written by other scientists and one chapter by Congressman Chet Holifield. Each is an authority in his own field. The key problems are discussed clearly and with depth. For example, in the chapter by Professor Walter R. Guild on "Biological Effects of Radiation" there is a discussion of the shortening of life by radiation, pointing out that much more life in man-years will be lost from this effect alone than from strontium-90 in the bones or from the genetic mutations causing visible abnormalities. When estimating the millions of lives that will be affected by nuclear bomb testing, most scientists have ignored this general effect of life shortening which causes premature deaths of humans of *all* ages. Professor Guild concludes his chapter by putting fallout into its proper perspective: "The odds

against damage are high enough so that I do not feel any special concern for the safety of my family or myself. Yet because the number of people seriously hurt is not zero, I feel I must ask whether the risks are justified. . . . There are many other areas of life in which we as a nation can and will affect more people's lives for better or worse, in pretty much the same broad statistical sense as by fallout. One medium-sized war anywhere in the world in the next 50 years, or the failure to prevent one major famine, would easily do more damage to life than fallout will. The second thought is that fallout is not the major issue with regard to the bomb tests. Behind this worry lies the much greater fear of nuclear war, and if we are truly concerned about war, then let us by all means use all our wisdom in going after that subject directly."

I certainly agree that fallout is not the major issue with regard to bomb testing. However I suspect Professor Guild did not check the numbers when he said one medium-sized war will do more damage to life than the fallout from the bomb testing. In *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* of June, 1958, I presented calculations showing that there is probably more loss of life from the fallout than from World War I.

Another clarifying chapter is the one by Professor Arthur Rosenfeld on "Detection of Bomb Tests" which surveys the technical difficulties of detecting small underground tests. Professor Rosenfeld also presents several straightforward technical methods for overcoming these difficulties of which the simplest is the addition of more seismic stations (they may be unmanned if the Russians insist). Professor Rosenfeld who represents the more conservative element of the Federation of American Scientists on this issue concludes by offering a compromise proposal which is extremely close to the offer made by the Soviet delegation at Geneva on March 19. Concerning the time duration of the moratorium on the small underground tests he writes: "Let us install the network immediately. This task will take a year or so. As a sign of good faith let us both conduct no more bomb tests during that time. (There will be no way of checking on one another, but let us take the risk for that relatively short

time.) Let us also start unclassified experiments on *both* the detection and the cushioning of tests." Rosenfeld also recommends that once the control system is capable of detection down to one kiloton, the treaty should ban *all* bomb tests.

Fallout also contains conflicting views on civilian defense and national survival by Congressman Chet Holifield, Dr. Ralph Lapp and Fowler. Both Holifield and Lapp feel there should be a large national shelter program, whereas Fowler says: "Although it is true that shelters would have some influence in deterring an attack, to most people it will seem foolish to spend billions of dollars to bury the nation underground when it so desperately needs schools and teachers, highways, adequate health programs, etc. To a half-starved world it would be another example of our self-centered approach to world problems. I would prefer to see the time, energy, and money spent on purposes more productive than civil defense."

The average man, it seems to me, is opposed to building himself a fallout shelter because he feels he and his family would not survive long after they crawl out. Where would they get enough uncontaminated water, food, and fuel to carry them through the several years it would take for the economy to recover? Fowler's chapter on national survival points out that after a "moderate" nuclear attack the strontium-90 soil content would be so high that "No food could safely be grown in this [Eastern US] soil. Even in the Midwest much of the farm land would be too contaminated to use for a generation." The layman asks what is the point of building himself a shelter if the government isn't doing anything to take care of the people who might manage to crawl out of their shelters alive? The layman knows of no multi-billion dollar plan to set aside half of the nation's farmland and cover it over to protect it from strontium-90 in the event of war. But, he has heard Governor Rockefeller repeat the Pentagon philosophy that if the people can be made to build shelters, they will no longer think nuclear war is hopeless and they will then give stronger support to our policy of massive retaliation and the nuclear arms race.

Perhaps it is not the people who are the lemmings; it is their present leaders.

Upton Sinclair Among Friends

by Ronald Sanders

"Once upon a time there was a little boy," Upton Sinclair begins an early account of his life, "a nice little boy, whom you would have liked if you had known him—at least, so his mother says. He had been brought up in the traditions of the old South, to which the two most important things in the world were good cooking and good manners. He obeyed his mother and father, and ate his peas with a fork,

My Lifetime in Letters

by Upton Sinclair

(University of Missouri Press; \$6.50)

and never buttered the whole slice of his bread." One day the boy woke up to discover that the world was full of corruption and vice. He was dismayed at first, but a strange thing happened. He set out to fight to maintain his innocence, even at this distance from Eden, and has not been stopped by either setbacks or derision from that day to this. He is now 81 years old, and the struggle goes on.

All of this began in an age in which many men were striving, like Emerson before them, to put the Apple back onto the Tree. Upton Sinclair was born in 1878 in Baltimore, to an old Southern family that had seen better days, and to a father who found himself unable to cope with the business world that engulfed him. Young Upton grew up in genteel poverty in New York City, where he worked his way through City College by writing. He showed even then a capacity for a vast literary output of varying quality, but regarded his less worthy productions as concessions to a world that misunderstood the artist in agony. One of his early novels, *The Journal of Arthur Stirling*, depicts a poet driven to suicide. But Sinclair found a happier solution for himself.

In 1905, he obtained a subsidy from *Appeal to Reason*, a socialist monthly, to enable him to go to the Chicago stockyards and gather material for a novel. The result was *The Jungle*, an account of industrial malpractice and oppression that is still a classic of documentary fiction. His friend, Jack Lon-

don, called it "the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of wage slavery." The public response to the book was enthusiastic; but the public was angered not so much by Sinclair's picture of working-class misery as by the smell of bad beef. Socialism languished, but the Pure Food and Drug Act became law. Sinclair was only mildly impressed. "I aimed at the public's heart," he wrote, "and by accident hit it in the stomach."

This was not entirely an accident. For all his ideology, Sinclair was then and continues to be a man for whom foul play is a more accessible reality than any abstract social injustice. The misfortunes of the proletarian hero of *The Jungle* are melodramatic and therefore unconvincing; the novel remains good for its fine descriptions of the incredible uncleanness and corruption that ac-

companied the production of meat. It is in the great tradition of Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, and the others, who saw little wrong with the world that could not be cured by honest businessmen and politicians. The blind historical forces of Marx and Engels are absent. Sinclair has never stopped calling himself a socialist, but his books denouncing corruption in the press, the schools, and the church, loyally described by him as "economic" interpretations, are the works of an unregenerate muckraker.

More speed to him, whatever he calls himself. Sinclair has written in the neighborhood of eighty books, each one, according to his wife, "in a state of prolonged mild ecstasy." A wonderfully cantankerous old egotist, vegetarian and socialist, he has about him, in these respects at least, a touch of his friend Bernard Shaw, with whom he once said he would vie in longevity. That he is above all a writer has never, since the death of Arthur Stirling, prevented him

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from bounding about in other pastures. Shortly after writing *The Jungle*, he founded a mildly utopian colony for writers and intellectuals, which the popular press construed to be as Fourierist in its lovemaking as it seemed to be in work, to the outrage of its proper young manager. From 1912 to 1917, there was some anti-war agitation.

The last grapple with the world of affairs was his EPIC ("End Poverty in California") campaign for the governorship of California in 1934. In a book called *I, Governor of California* (written before the election), he outlined a program which included the use of unemployment insurance funds for the financing of public works projects. Sinclair said it was socialism; Norman Thomas called it a "tin-can economy." He ran on the Democratic ticket, not because of disloyalty to socialism, but out of the sensible conviction that he could not win on the ticket of a party that did not have a pedigree. The Democrats were somewhat embarrassed, and President Roosevelt, though privately warm according to Sinclair, refrained from publicly intervening. The campaign seems to have been joyous though tiring, and included the satisfaction of seeing his opponent confuse him with Sinclair Lewis. He lost with a sense of relief. There was no more politics after that—only his gargantuan literary endeavors, resulting, among other things, in the eleven-volume Lanny Budd series, which brought him a Pulitzer Prize.

It has been so full a life that any sort of autobiographical work should have interest, especially since the author has a disarming talent for speaking well of himself. His collection of letters to himself glimmers with possibilities, regretfully not fully realized. It is a somewhat inchoate work. The list of writers who corresponded with Sinclair is spectacular: Theodore Roosevelt, Bernard Shaw, Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann and a whole host of major and minor intellectual figures of the 20th Century. But, aside from the lurking presence throughout of Sinclair himself, whom all the letters are distinctly *about*, and a sprinkling of his own vigorous comments, there is no binding theme or form, no chronological arrangement; letters are clustered according to writer, though sometimes even the letters of a

single person are scattered throughout the book. If Sinclair had only broken down his material into chronological or thematic sections, and provided a brief introduction to each, he would have produced something reasonably comprehensible and pleasurable to read. As it is, there is a strong intimation in the nature of the work that the author-editor is talking to himself.

What a pity! For there is marvelous raw material in the collection. Upton Sinclair has had a lot of eminent friends who have delighted in their eccentricities as much as he does in his. In this book we encounter Theodore Roosevelt and H. L. Mencken denouncing socialism in thundering terms, and Bertrand Russell at a loss to comprehend Sinclair's interest in mental telepathy. Sherwood Anderson rebukes all ideology in fiction, Edith Wharton defends the morality of Sinclair's work even though she cannot agree with its politics. As expected, Shaw is the most fun of all.

"Good gracious, Upton," he writes in response to a plea for a world peace movement, "have you any sense of proportion? . . . Haven't you grown out of this baby stage of making world wide organizations out of three cranks (including President, Secretary, and Treasurer) and the use of a shop parlor in the Old Kent Road once a week? I'm surprised at you."

The book has suffered as an independent work because of an over-private intention. The reader feels like an intruder at the fiftieth reunion of a college class filled with a nostalgia both touching and inaccessible. Most of the letters are confined roughly to the period 1905-1925; Sinclair explains that he has consciously done this, but he does not say why. Perhaps because that period is so clearly the author's Golden Age; it begins with *The Jungle* and ends before the lone and relentless muckraker has had his thunder stolen by the New Deal, war, and prosperity.

ART

The Cincinnati Print Show

If you're in Cincinnati during the next six weeks, get out to the Art Museum and see the International Print show assembled there by the museum's print man, Gustave von Groschwitz. There are 425 prints, in all media, including some new ones, from artists in 30 countries, including some new ones. The

The 1960 International Biennial of Prints Cincinnati Art Museum

range is comprehensive; the show includes Picasso, Braque, Chagall and Miro; it runs through all the variously aged younger generations of France; it includes a large representation of print-makers you've never heard of.

The common denominator is quality. Everything there was chosen by Von Groschwitz and the high level of the show proves once more that there is no substitute for a sure taste. I might also mention that the price is right. The older school of Paris men are still going at

two or three hundred dollars a crack, and the trend is still present among Americans to move prints into the range that used to be held by small paintings, but a large number of the prints on view are tagged at between \$18 and \$50. Stop me if this turns into a market newsletter, but, for example, among well-established names, there's a clean, flowing *Profile*, a color lithograph, at \$20, by Jean Cocteau, the universal boy; and Hans Erni's color lithographs of animals and nudes are all \$32. Among the excellent work by unknown artists in the show are three prints of bold black bulls by a young Spaniard, Joaquin Vaquero Turcios, again priced at \$20.

The outstanding work in the show, as it happens, is also of bulls and also by a Spanish artist. The Museum has acquired what I believe is the only Picasso *Tauromachy*, complete, in this country; at any rate the set of 26 aquatints is the only one on public exhibition. Designed in 1957 and printed last year, the plates show what we already

knew, that age cannot wither nor custom stale, the man's a genius. A print series, of course, has a great advantage over a single image and Picasso has used the advantage fully. Simple, precisely placed brush strokes get the very breath of the afternoon in the ring. At the end of the stroke, the brush turns, there's a dark spot and it belongs there. Light and dark play against each other and against the white paper as the series moves through all the maneuvers of sword and cape, all the gestures of man and bull.

In a way the show belongs to Stanley William Hayter, the English teacher and printmaker whose precept and example in Paris and New York have profoundly influenced the practice of the medium. For years Hayter has been systematically breaking down traditional limitations. If one note characterizes the Cincinnati show as a whole it is the dominance of what Hayter called *New Ways of Gravure*.

The most startling and perhaps the most widely used new way in evidence at Cincinnati is the sudden arrival of the third dimension. In a sense this has always been present; the connoisseur, glass to eye, has pursued it along the dry-point line, for instance. Without a glass, the third dimension has been perceptible and highly cherished in the plate line, the indentation or elevation around the edge of the print. One of the new ways seen at Cincinnati moves the plate line right into the image itself, making it part of the composition. I saw this first some years ago in the work of a Frenchman named Henri-Georges Adam. His three works in the show are made of as many as eight engraved plates, cut out in various roughly geometrical shapes and juxtaposed in the printing. The engraving by Adam is mostly cross hatching in assorted densities; there is thus maintained what has always been the chief weakness of Hayter, namely the air of the classroom demonstration. Still, Adam's arrangements all have an admirable balance to them and it is a lift to see the plate line running all over the plate.

Effects in depth are carried further by the French-Russian sculptor, Hajdu, and by the German-American painter, Albers. Both are represented by prints without ink, the forms being pressed into paper. I've always enjoyed Albers'

optical illusions and that's what his inkless intaglios are, with—forgive me—a new dimension added; you get not only his usual play between the two or three ways of reading the geometrical figure, but that plus a literal depth to the image. Hajdu's sculpture—most of it I've seen—is very flat, often a highly stylized, or abstracted, if you like, profile of a girl. The step, therefore, from flat sculpture to depth printmaking is not very big and Hajdu's "estampilles" look as if the zinc plates from which they're made could probably pass for sculpture.

Depth and textural preoccupation reach a peak in *Vernal Equinox* by Michael Ponce de Léon. The print has many surface levels, each one with its own grain and all shades of color embedded in the over-all pale blue. Another series, *Cinque Incisioni*, seemed to me to take the relief style farthest. The artist, a young Greek named Nikos, used a similar abstract pattern throughout the series, with the relief areas changing

along with the colors and shapes, through the five.

I noted again that reduction to the size and the detachment of the print makes certain contemporary painting styles a lot more acceptable than when they're big as a barn door. The marks of painters like Soulages, Appel and Cappagrossi, become interesting and unpretentious in print form. Americans of the same general persuasion, apparently, don't make prints. The nearest approach, and it isn't very near, is in the winter grasses of Peterdi or the spring birds of Frasconi.

The only large size prints in the show are very strong expressive images, Leonard Baskin's over life-size *Everyman* is a great body, stretched out by the cuts in the wood that echo agony, and two life-size portraits in intaglio by Mauricio Lasansky of the artist and his daughter. Lasansky employs a highly mixed technique, but his purpose is never technical. He keeps a clear eye on the human condition. FRANK GETLEIN

THEATER

Politics and the Higher Gossip

When I was a student in drama school, I once attended a comedy by a particularly insecure student-playwright who had invited a few producers and agents to see his work. The play was not funny and the audience was unresponsive, so

The Best Man
by Gore Vidal
(Morosco Theater)

the playwright decided to help things along by sitting in a different part of the orchestra during each act and guffawing loudly at his own lines. I have never forgotten the terrible quality of that laughter. It had the desperate raucousness of an ego striving not only to justify itself but to survive, and was, in fact, so far removed from genuine merriment that it sounded inhuman, like the mechanical braying of a klaxon.

I have been spared the sound of that laughter for ten years, but I heard it again the other night, rising in great

honks from inside the Morosco Theater. It was as if the author of *The Best Man* were sitting everywhere in the house, cacchinating at his own conceits and zealously cheering his own achievement when the curtain fell. And, in a sense, this was true. The nominal author, Gore Vidal, has manipulated the action and calculated the effects, but the play's material, I suspect, was provided by an Audience Survey Tabulator and a frighteningly efficient Univac machine. For *The Best Man* is less an original drama than an uncannily precise recording of the Broadway spectator's most simplistic notions of politics and politi-

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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cians, as gleaned from the tabloid liberalism of *The New York Post*, the insider anecdotes of Leonard Lyons, the scurrilous suggestions of Walter Winchell, and the Higher Gossip which circulates in bars, nightclubs, and living rooms.

The result is a work which appears to offer controversial material but which really thrives on unanimity of audience opinion (imagine the shock in the house when one unhip spectator booed a slighting reference to J. Edgar Hoover). Inevitably, therefore, *The Best Man* takes the form of melodrama, tailored with a smart sophistication appropriate to the times. While the incumbent, Hockstader (a peppery, laconic, practical politician in the style of Harry Truman) looks amusedly on, two men contend for the Party's Presidential nomination: the Angel of Light, a former Secretary of State named William Russell (dedicated to "Man" and "human decency"), and the Angel of Darkness, a Senator named Joe Cantwell (who will "lie, cheat, and destroy reputations to get elected"). Since Cantwell worships expediency, he depends on the smear technique, passing around to the convention delegates reports that Russell is estranged from his wife and than an earlier nervous breakdown was really an attack of lunacy. For Russell, on the other hand, intelligence, integrity, and honesty are the prime political virtues. When he receives information that Cantwell had homosexual experiences in the service, he refuses to use it, despite the urging of Hockstader and the prompting of his own ambition. In consequence, he loses the nomination, though he regains the love and admiration of his wife.

In skeleton, this is a conventional

enough situation, and it embodies a reasonably accurate, though oversimplified, liberal diagnosis of the political scene. But while outwardly flattering to the political opinions of the spectator, *The Best Man* is secretly destructive of all intelligent politics: complex ideas harden into ideology, and liberalism itself is tainted with the demagoguery it professes to abhor. It is worth observing that while we are encouraged to sympathize with the upright Russell (a composite of Stevenson and Acheson, played with humor and charm by Melvyn Douglas) in his uncompromising concern with issues rather than personalities, there is not a single political issue of any consequence discussed in the play. And at the same time that we are hooting Joe Cantwell's low-road penchant for malicious scandal, we are giggling at gossipy wisecracks about the sex life, drinking habits, and personal idiosyncracies of prominent political figures and their wives. That these politicians are presented in composite serves not to disguise them so much as to multiply the scandals in their public and private lives.

Take the character of Joe Cantwell. As played with unblinking directness by Frank Lovejoy, he is the image of Richard Nixon: beetle-browed, smooth, unctuous, pugnacious, and unscrupulous, his only reading matter the latest Gallup poll. But, as if this were not enough, Cantwell is given some of McCarthy's characteristics too. It was McCarthy, remember, who was rumored to have had a homosexual past, and it is McCarthy's technique of self-advertisement which Cantwell exploits in the play. As Hockstader tells us, Senator Cantwell rose to prominence by charging that "the United States was secretly governed by the Mafia" (!) After announcing that "there was no such thing — you just cooked it up," Hockstader goes on to contradict himself, adding that Cantwell only prosecuted the small rascals because the big ones contributed to his campaign fund. I have neither the patience nor the stomach to document how — when you lump together political personalities, and confuse, in consequence, such enormously complicated issues as the Hiss case, Communism in government, and the admission of Red China to the UN — political thinking has a tendency to stop altogether. But I will

say that it was ritualistic liberalism of just this kind that accounted, in part, for the rise of demagogues like McCarthy and opportunists like Nixon in the first place.

In short, *The Best Man* demonstrates that expediency can be operative in playwrighting as well as in politics, and that there is not such a wide gulf between our commercial drama and our national life as one might imagine. Since one can hear an author's true voice speaking in only one of his lines, it is difficult to say how committed Mr. Vidal, who is running for Congress in New York State, is to the flaccid attitudes he grinds out in his play. "As a playwright," he once wrote in an article, "I am a sport, whose only serious interest is the subversion of a society which bores and appalls me." Whether wittingly or not, he is certainly realizing his objective with this cynical and mechanical work.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

The Amidon School Experiment

Sirs:

Your extraordinary pre-judgment of Superintendent Carl Hansen's experimental program at the Amidon School in Washington, D. C. (April 4) should, I suppose, be heartening to those of us who regard it as an exciting breakthrough in American public education. Although the school will not even open its doors until next September, you are already explaining away its success and assuring your readers that nothing will have been proved.

One of the great questions in American education today is the degree to which the average and below-average student can profit from an intellectually demanding education centered around the academic disciplines. The great body of orthodox educational opinion insists that such education is suitable only for the academically talented. A minority group of critics like the Council for

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—ATKINSON, N. Y. Times

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Basic Education, and a substantial but uncounted number of parents and teachers, reject this assumption and insist that our job is to find ways to make such education available to every student up to the maximum of his ability to meet its challenge. Unfortunately, neither side has any really adequate evidence on which to base its beliefs, since, until Dr. Hansen's announcement of the Amidon experiment, no major school system has, to our knowledge, been willing to put the question to a test.

It seems to me that Dr. Hansen has earned the gratitude of everyone seriously interested in the improvement of American education. He has done everything in his power to supply the essential precondition of the experiment, a student body which is unselected in terms of ability. Obviously, most of the students who come from other parts of the city will have parents who are motivated by an interest in good education; equally obviously, for this and many other reasons, this experiment will not provide us with any simple and final answers. But it will provide us with some answers of an important kind to an essential question which most schoolmen have thus far preferred to argue about rather than investigate.

Thomas A. Bledsoe
Executive Secretary
Council for Basic Education
Washington, D. C.

In reply:

We share Mr. Bledsoe's hope that the Amidon School will become a laboratory for the development of intellectually challenging curricula. But we cannot see how a comparison of a laboratory to some other school is going to answer any of the age old questions about the best curricula. If the Amidon School is to answer any of these questions, it will have to use a variety of methods within the school, and compare the results. There have been literally thousands of such comparisons already made between different teachers, curricula, and schools, some of which the Council for Basic Education approves, and others of which it disapproves. Since education is not, and probably cannot be, a science, the results have been inconclusive.

THE EDITORS

"We Are Not Amused"

Sirs:

As a longtime fan not only of Gerald W. Johnson the journalist but of Gerald W. Johnson the historian (indeed I have just been re-reading *The First Captain*), I noted with interest his question (March 21) about Queen Victoria's famous "We are not amused." We have all heard it quoted "a hundred times, but have you ever heard a detailed account of the performance that provoked it? ... Neither have I; etc."

Bartlett's Quotations states specifically that the comment was made by Her Majesty "upon seeing an imitation of herself by the Honorable Alexander Grantham Yorke, Groom in Waiting to the Queen (1884-1901.)" Young Yorke, a member of the Queen's household, must have known his way around the palace too well to risk getting out of hand at any but a supposedly relaxed moment. And Arthur Ponsonby, in his biography of his father, the Queen's private secretary, points out, apropos of those amateur theatricals Her Majesty loved to organize at Balmoral and Osborne: "In two of her Grooms-in-Waiting, the Hon. Alec Yorke and Colonel Arthur Collins, she had two excellent actors and competent stage managers. What she enjoyed most of all was superintending the rehearsals, altering to her liking the scripts of the plays (as she did with *Becket*) and criticizing the performances of the Princesses and courtiers who were the actors." Surely it was at one of these jolly gatherings that the Hon. Alec allowed himself to get a bit too gay.

William R. Laidlaw
East Otis, Mass.

Why Not Stevenson?

Sirs:

Margaret Halsey (March 28) has the right idea: Stevenson has been right. Now let's make him President!

Stevenson vetoed a loyalty oath bill in Illinois in 1951 when this was a lonely and unpopular stand. Now nine years later all the available candidates oppose loyalty oaths.

Stevenson was the first American statesman to advocate negotiating to end bomb tests. He urged that America take the lead in April 1956. He was met

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with sneers, distortions, and phony arguments. Now four years later all the candidates are for ending bomb tests.

Stevenson proposed in November 1955 that a UN force be sent to patrol the border between Israel and Egypt to prevent war. Eisenhower ignored him. But a year later the Suez crisis resulted in exactly that solution.

Long before Sputnik, Stevenson warned of the danger to us due to Russia's growth in science and industrial output. Nixon tried to smear Stevenson for this warning but a few years later Nixon was making the same warning.

Stevenson proposed in 1956 that we should cut down our unilateral foreign aid and join with our allies and with the UN to aid the underdeveloped countries.

His arguments are increasingly being heard today. We desperately need a President who looks ahead with wisdom and courage. What are we waiting for?

Julia Robinson
Berkeley, California

Sirs:

Hurray for Margaret Halsey's spirited endorsement of Adlai Stevenson! I second the nomination. The plain fact of the matter is that for most thinking American voters Adlai Stevenson is the prospective candidate most qualified for the Presidency today. It should be that simple, and if it isn't, then there is something very dangerously wrong with our system of electing a President.

Allen C. Koretsky
New York, N.Y.

Taking Orders from Rome

Sirs:

It was with a great deal of interest that I read in the March 21 issue of *The New Republic* a discussion on whether we (Protestants) would suffer if a Catholic were elected President of the US.

I sincerely believe that Senator Kennedy would make a great President if he was a free agent. Because of his religion he is not a free agent. . . . It may very well be true that the Senator does not have a fixed "line" on the issues that we are interested in today, but can it be said that the Catholic hierarchy in Rome is without this fixed "line?" What does Mr. Schlesinger have to say about the interference of the Catholic hierarchy in causing the mayor of Dijon to stay away and not welcome Mr. Khrushchev to that city? This in spite of the fact that the mayor had expressed his eagerness to greet Mr. Khrushchev.

Mr. Schlesinger himself admits that the Catholics have "already meddled outrageously with freedom of non-Catholics to read the books or see the films or TV programs of their choice." Does he believe that the situation will get better if we elect Senator Kennedy or any other Catholic President? I would grant Mr. Schlesinger's proposition that President Charles de Gaulle does not take his orders from Rome, but I would like to know why de Gaulle forced through the French Parliament a bill granting public money to Catholic schools.

William M. Morrow
Oklahoma Christian College
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Rhee Ad Infinitum

Sirs:

Mail deliveries being what they are, I had the happy experience of reading your "Rhee Ad Infinitum" (March 7) shortly after returning from Korea where I covered the elections. Ed Neilan's Korea yarn was the best election anticipation I've seen and the correspondents have been talking about how well its points stood up after the election (and shooting) were over.

Alan Warner
The Foreign Correspondents Club
Tokyo, Japan

Senator Paul H. Douglas:



"The New Republic sparkles these days, and I find myself eagerly looking forward to reading every number."

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